Pittsburgh, in the State of Pennsylvania, this 22d day of February, 1856, as the representa-tives of the people in various sections of the Union, to consult upon the political evils by which the country is menaced, and the political action by which those evils may be averted, we address to you this Declaration of our Principles, and of the Purposes which we seek to Promote. We declare, in the first place, our fixed and

unalterable devotion to the Constitution of the United States, to the ends for which it was established, and to the means which it provided for their attainment. We accept the solemn protestation of the People of the United States, hat they ordained it, "in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their pos-terity." We believe that the powers which it confers upon the Government of the United States are ample for the accomplishment of these objects; and that if these powers are exercised in the spirit of the Constitution itself, they cannot lead to any other result. We respect those great rights which the Constitution declares to be inviolable, freedom of speech and of the Press, the free exercise of religion belief, and the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. We would preserve those great safeguards of civil freedom, the habeas corpus, the right of trial by Jury, and the right of personal liberty, unless deprived thereof for crime by due process of law. We declare our purpose to obey, in all things, the requirements of the Constitution, and of all laws enacted in pursuance thereof. We cherish a profouneverence for the wise and patriotic men by whom it was framed, and a lively sense of the blessings it has conferred upon our country, and upon mankind throughout the world. In every crisis of difficulty and of danger, we shall invoke its spirit, and proclaim the supremacy of its authority. In the next place, we declare our ardent and

unshaken attachment to this Union of American States, which the Constitution created, and has thus far preserved. We revere it as the purchase of the blood of our forefathers, as the condition of our national renown, and as the guardian and guarantee of that Liberty which the Constitution was designed to secure. We will defend and protect it against all its enemies We will recognise no geographical divisions no local interests, no narrow or sectional prejudices, in our endeavors to preserve the Union of these States against foreign aggression and domestic strife. What we claim for ourselves, we claim for all. The rights, privileges, and liberties, which we demand as our inherita we concede as their inheritance to all the citi

zens of this Republic. Holding these opinions, and animated these sensiments, we declare our conviction that the Government of the United States is not administered in accordance with the Constitution, or for the preservation and prosperity are systematically wielded FOR THE PROMOTION AND EXTENSION OF THE INTEREST OF SLAVERY in direct hostility to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, in flagrant disregard of other great interests of the country, and in open contempt of the public sentiment of the American people and of the Christian world. We proclaim our belief that the policy which has for years past been adopted in the administration of the General Government, tends to the utter subversion of each of the great ends for which the Constibe arrested by the prompt interposition of the People, the hold of the Union upon their loyalty quility will be disturbed, and all constitutional securities, for the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, will be destroyed. The slaveholding interest cannot be made permanently paramount in the General Government, without involving consequences fatal to free institutions. We acknowledge that it is large and powerful; that in the States where it exists, it is entitled, under the Constitution, like ll other local interests, to immunity from the that it must necessarily exercise, through its representatives, a considerable share of politi-cal power. But there is nothing in its position, cal power. But there is nothing in its position, as there is certainly nothing in its character, to sustain the supremacy which it seeks to establish. There is not a State in the Union in which the slaveholders number one-tenth part of the free white population—nor in the aggregate do they number one-fiftieth part of the white population of the United States. The annual productions of the other classes in the Union, far exceed the total value of all the slaves. To say nothing, therefore, of the questions slaves. To say nothing, therefore, of the ques-tions of natural justice and of political economy which Slavery involves, neither its magnitude nor the number of those by whom it is repre-sented entitle it to one-tenth part of the politi-cal powers conferred upon the Federal Govern-ment by the Constitution. Yet we see it seek-ing, and at this moment wielding, all the fauc-

Constitution, the rights of the several States, the safety of the Union, and the welfare of the People of the United States, demand that it should be dislodged.

tions of Government—executive, legislative, and judicial—and using them for the augment-

Historical Outline of the Progress of Slavery

It is not necessary for us to rehearse in detail the successive steps by which the slaveholding interest has secured the influence it now exerts in the General Government. Close students of political events will readily trace the path of its ambition through the past twenty-five years of our national history.

It was under the Administration of President

TYLES, and during the negotiation which pre-ceded the annexation of Texas, that the Fed-eral Administration for the first time declared, in its diplomatic correspondence with foreign nations, that Slavery in the United States was PEACE, SAPETY, AND PROSPERITY OF THOSE STATES OF THE UNION IN WHICH IT EXISTS;" and that the paramount motive of the American Government, in appexing Texas, was two-fold—first, to prevent the abolition of Slavery within its limits; and secondly, to render Slavery more secure and more powerful within the slaveholding States of the Union. Slavery was thus taken under the special care and protection of the Federal Government. It was no longer to be left as a State institution, to be controlled exclusively by the States themselves; it was to be defended by the General Government, not only against the invasion or insurrection of armed against the invasion or insurrection of arme enemies, but against the moral sentiment of humanity, and the natural development of pop

Thus was the whole current of our national history suddenly and unconstitutionally reversed. The General Government, abandoning the position it had always held, declared its purpose to protect and perpetuate what the great founders of our Republic had regarded as an evil—as at variance with the principles on which our institutions were based, and as a source of weakness, social and political, to the communities in which it existed. At the time of the Revolution, Cavery existed in all the colonies; but, neither then, nor for half a century afterwards, had it been an element of political strife, for there was no difference of opinion or of policy in regard to it. The tendency of affairs had been towards emancipation. Half the original thirteen States had taken measures, at an early day, to free themselves from the blighting influence and the reproach of Slavery. Virginia and North Carolina had anticipated the Continental Congress of 1774, in checking the increase of their slave population, by prohibiting the Slave Trade at any of their ports.

The Constitution, conferring upon Congres full power to prevent the increase of Slavery by

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address of the Republican Convention

CONVENED IN THE CITY OF PITTSBURGH,
On the 22d of February, 1866.

To the People of the United States:

Having met in Convention at the city of Pittsburgh, in the State of Pennsylvania, this discovered and the Convention at the City of Pittsburgh, in the State of Pennsylvania, this discovered at the Convention at the City of Pittsburgh, in the State of Pennsylvania, this discovered at the Convention at the city of Pittsburgh, in the State of Pennsylvania, this discovered at the Convention at the city of Pittsburgh, in the State of Pennsylvania, this discovered at the Convention at the city of Pittsburgh, in the State of Pennsylvania, this discovered at the Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania of Pennsylvania of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania of Pennsy Union, previous to 1820—but the territory from which they were formed had belonged to States in which Slavery existed at the time of their formation; and in ceding it to the General Govformation; and in ceding it to the General Gov-ernment, or in assenting to the formation of new States within it, the old States to which it belonged had inserted a proviso against any reg-ulation of Congress that should tend to the emancipation of slaves. Congress was thus pre-vented from prohibiting Slavery in these new States, by the action of the old States out of which they had been formed. But, as soon as the constitutional limitation upon its power over the States then existing had expired, Congress prohibited, by fearful penalties, the addition, by prohibited, by fearful penalties, the addition, by mportation of a single slave, to the number already in the country.

The framers of the Constitution, although the

historical record of their opinions proves that they were earnest and undivided in their dislike of Slavery, and in their conviction that it was hostile in its nature and its influences to Republican freedom, after taking these steps to prevent its increase, did not interfere with it further in the States where it then existed. Those States were separate communities, jealous of their sovereignty, and unwilling to enter into any league which should trench, in the least degree, upon their own control of their own af-fairs. This sentiment the framers of the Constitution were compelled, to respect; and they accordingly left Slavery as they left all other local interests, to the control of the several States. But no one who reads with care the debates and the recorded opinions of that age, debates and the recorded opinions of that age, can doubt that the ultimate removal of Slavery was desired by the People of the whole country, and that Congress had been empowered to prevent its increase, with a view to its gradual and ultimate extinction. Nor did the period of emancipation seem remote. Slave labor, employed as it was in agriculture, was less profitable than the free labor which was pouring in to take its place. And even in States where this consideration did not prevail, other influences tended to the same result. The spirit of Liberty was then young, generous, and strong. The men of the nation had made sacrifices and waged battles for the vindication of their inalienwaged battles for the vindication of their inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and it was not possible for them to sit down in the quiet enjoyment of blessings thus achieved, without feeling the injustice, as well as the inconvenience, of holding great num-bers of their fellow-men in bondage. In all the

ambition by the best and most sagacious states-

men of that age; and Washington, Jefferson Franklin, and all the great leaders and repre

sentatives of public opinion, were active and carnest in devising measures by which it could earnest in devising measures by which it could be accomplished.

But the great change produced in the industry of the Southern States, in the early part of the present century, by the increased culture of cotton, the introduction of new inventions to prepare it for use, and its growing importance to the commerce of the country and the labor of the world, by making slave labor more profitable than it had ever been before, checked this tendency towards emancipation, and soon put an end to it altogether. As the demand for cotton increased, the interests of the cotton-growon increased, the interests of the cotton-grow with Slavery; the spirit of freedom gradually gave way before the spirit of gain; the sentiments and the language of the Southern States became changed; and all attempts at emanciation became the became and all attempts at emanciation became the prograded and resided as pation began to be regarded, and resisted, as assaults upon the rights and the interests of the ears, however, this change did not affect the political relations of the subject. States, both ree and slaveholding, were successively added free and slaveholding, were successively added to the Confederacy, without exciting the fears of either section. Vermont came into the Union in 1791, with a Constitution excluding Slavery. Kentucky, formed out of Virginia, was admitted in 1792, Tennessee in 1796, Mississippi in 1817, and Alabama in 1819—all slave States, formed out of territory belonging to slave States, and having Slavery established in them at the time of their formation. On the other hand, Ohio was admitted in 1803, Indiana in 1816, and Illinois in 1818, having formed State Govand litinois in 1818, having formed State Governments under acts of Congress which made it a fundamental condition, that their Constitutions should contain nothing repugnant to the Ordinance of 1787—or, in other words, that Slavery should be prohibited within their limits forever. In all these occurrences, as in the admission of Louisiana in 1812, there here here they were Freedom and Slavery for no contest between Freedom and Slavery, for it had not been generally felt that the interests of either were seriously involved.

The first contest concerning the admission of a new State, which turned upon the question of Slavery, occurred in 1819, when Missouri, formed out of territory purchased from France in 1803, applied to Congress for admission to the Union as a slaveholding State. The application was strenuously resisted by the people of the free States. It was everywhere felt that the decision involved consequences of the learning that t the free States. It was everywhere left that the decision involved consequences of the last importance to the welfare of the country, and that, if the progress of Slavery was ever to be arrested, that was the time to arrest it. The slaveholding interest demanded its admission as a right, and denied the power of Congress to impose conditions upon new States applying to be admitted into the Confederacy. The power

rested with the free States, and Missouri was denied admission. But the subject was reviewed. The slaveholding interest, with characteristic and timely sagacity, abated something of its pretensions, and settled the controversy on the basis of compromise. Missouri was admitted into the Union by an act bearing date March 6, 1820 in which it was also declared. March 6, 1820, in which it was also declared that "in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36° 30' of north latitude, not included within the limits of the State of Missouri, SLAVERY AND INVOLUNTARY SERVI-TUDE, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, SHALL BE, AND IS HERRBY, FOREVER PROHIBITED." In each House of Congress, a majority of the members from the slaveholding States voted in favor of the bill with this provision—thus declaring and exercising, by their votes, the constitutional power of Congress to prohibit Slavery even in Territories where it had been permitted by the law of France, at the date of their cession to the United States. A new slave State, Arkansas, formed out of that portion of this Territory lying south of 36° 30', to which the prohibition was not extended, was admitted to the Union in 1836. Two slave States thus came into the Confederacy by vir-States thus came into the Confederacy by vir-tue of this arrangement; while Freedom gained nothing by it but the prohibition of Slavery from a vast region which civilization had made

ever else they may differ, always concur in imposing upon the Convention assent to their requisitions in regard to Slavery, as the indispensable condition of their support. Holding thus in their hands power to decide the result of the election, and using that power, undeviatingly and sternly, for the extortion of their demands, they have always been able to control the nominations of both parties, and thus, what-ever may be the issue, to secure a President who is sure to be the instrument of their behests. Thus has it come to pass that, for twenty years, we have never had a President who would appoint to the humblest office within his gift, in any section of the Union, any man known to hold opinions hostile to Slavery, or to be active in resisting its aggressions and usurpations of power. Men, the most upright and the most respectable, in States where Sla-yery is only known by name, have been ineligi-ble to the smallest trust—have been held unfit to distribute letters from the Federal post office to their neighbors, or trim the lamps of a lighthouse upon the remotest point of our extended coast. Millions of our citizens have been thus disfranchised for their opinions concerning Slavery, and the vast patronage of the General Government has been systematically wielded in its service, and for the promotion of its de-

It was by such a discipline, and under such influences, that the Government and the country were prepared for the second great stride of Slavery towards new dominion, and for the avowal of motives by which it was attended.

Annexation of Texas and the War with Mexico.

Texas was admitted into the Union on the Texas was admitted into the Union on the 29th of December, 1845, with a Constitution forbidding the abolition of Slavery, and a stipulation that four more States should become members of the Confederacy, whenever they might be formed within her limits, and with or without Slavery, as their inhabitants might decide. The General Government then made virtual provision for the addition of five new slave States to the Union—practically securing lave States to the Union-practically securing to the slaveholding interest ten additional mem-bers in the Senate—representing States, it might be, with less than a million inhabitants, anything in more tagrant contradiction to the principles of Republican Freedom, or more dangerous to the public liberties, than in the system practiced by the slaveholding interest represented in the General Government? States, therefore, there existed a strong tenden-cy towards emancipation. The removal of so great an evil was felt to be a worthy object of But a third opportunity was close at hand, and Slavery made a third struggle for the ex-

ension of its domain and the enlargement of its power.

The annexation of Texas involved us in war with Mexico. The war was waged on our part with Mexico. The war was waged on our part with vigor, skill, and success. It resulted in the cession to the United States of New Mexi-co, California, and Deseret, vast territories over which was extended by Mexican law a prohibiion of Slavery. The slaveholders demanded access to them all, resisted the admission of California and New Mexico, which the energy of freemen, outstripping in its activity the Gov-ernment, and even the slaveholding interest, had already converted into free States, and sentments and party ambitions interposed against the right. Great men, leaders of the people, from whom, in better days, the people had learned lessons of principles and patriotism, yielded to the howlings of the storm, and sought shelter, in submission, from its rage. The slaveholding interest was again victorious. California, with her free Constitution, was indeed admitted into the Union; but New Mexico, with her Constitution forbidding Slavery within her borders, was denied admission, and remanded to the condition of a Territory; and while Congress refused to enact a positive prohibition of Slavery in the Territories of New Mexico and Deseret, it was provided that, when they should apply for admission as States, they should come in with or without Slavery, as their inhabitants might decide. Additional concessions were made to the Slave Power—the General Government assumed the recapture of fugitive slaves, and passed laws for the accomplishment of that end, subversive at once of State sovereignty, and of the established safesought shelter, in submission, from its rage. The slaveholding interest was again victorious. California, with her free Constitution, was ineral Government assumed the recapture of fugitive slaves, and passed laws for the accomplishment of that end, subversive at once of State sovereignty, and of the established safeguards of civil freedom. Then the country again had rest. Wearied with its efforts, or content with their success, the slaveholding interest proclaimed a truce.

When Franklin Pierce, on the 4th of March, 1972, because President of the United States.

853, became President of the United States. no controversy growing out of Slavery was agitating the country. Established laws, some of them enacted with unusual solemnity, and under circumstances which made them of more than ordinary obligation, had fixed the character of all the States, and ended the contest con-cerning the Territories. Sixteen States were free States, and fifteen States were slave States. By the Missouri Compromise of 1820, Slavery was forever prohibited from all the Louisiana Territory lying north of the line of 36° 30'; while over that Territory lying south of that while over that Territory lying south of that line, and over the Territories of New Mexico and Deseret, no such prohibition had been extended. The whole country reposed upon this arrangement. All sections and all interests, whether approving it or not, seemed to acquiesce in its terms. The slaveholding interest, through all its organs, and especially through the General Government, proclaimed that this was a final and irrepealable adjustment of the struggle between Freedom and Slavery for political power; that it had been effected by multiple to the spirit of comproting the spirit of compr Union, and as sacred as the Constitution itself. Both political parties gave it their sanction in their National Conventions; the whole country assented to its validity; and President Pierce,

assented to its validity; and President Pierce, in his first official message to Congress, pledged himself to use all the power of his position to prevent it from being disturbed.

But all these protestations proved delusive, and the acquiescence and contentment which they produced afforded the opportunity, not only for new aggressions on the part of Slavery, but for the repudiation of engagements into which its agents had solemnly entered. Less than a year had elapsed before these pledges were broken, and the advantages which they secured to Freedom withdrawn by the slaveholding power.

holding power. Repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

In the course of time and the natural progress of population, that portion of the Louisiana Territory lying west of the Mississippi of its power. The dagree in which the General Government. The slaveholding interest and achieved a virtual victory. It secured all the immediate results for which it struggled; it acquired the power of offsetting, in the Federal Senate, two of the free States of the Confederacy; and the time could not be foreseen when, in the fulfillment of its compact, it would ryield any positive and practical advantage to the interests of Freedom. Neither then, nor for many years thereafter, did any statesman dream that, when the period should arrive, the relationship of the state of the winds.

A quarter of a century elapsed before the annexation of Texas. Slavery had been active, meantine, in fastening its hold upon the Government, in binding political parties to its chariot, and in seeking in Congress to stife the right of petition, and to crush all freedom of speech and of the press. In every slaves whose interests are identified with Slavery, were admitted to fill any office, or exercise any authority, civil or political. Free whites, not signed the securities of the securities of the securities of the contract of the contract of the capital, enterprise, and product of the interests are identified with Slavery, were admitted to fill any office, or exercise any authority, civil or political. Free whites, not signed the securities of the constitutions in the contract of the capital, enterprise, and product of the size of the securities of the contraction of the courty rests upon Free than six millions, of whom but 347,525, or less than one securities, are the owners of slaver, more than its millions, of whom but 347,525, or less than one securities, are the owners of slaver, which it is contracted to the contraction of the courty rests upon Free than six millions, of whom but 347,525, or less than one securities of the co In the course of time and the natural proprohibiting the Slave Trade, had, out of regard for existing interests and vested rights, post-poned the exercise of that power over the States then existing until the year 1808—leaving Congress free to exercise it over new States and over the Territories of the United States, by prohibiting the migration or importation of

Nor did the slaveholding interest stop here in its crusade of injustice and wrong. The first election of members for the Territorial Legislature of Kansas was fixed for the 30th of March, 1855, and the law of Congress prescribed that at that election none but "actual residents of the Territory" should be allowed to vote. Yet, to prevent people of the Territory themselves from exercising the right to prohibit Slavery, which the act of Congress had conferred upon them, the slaveholding interest sent armed bands of men from the neighboring State of Missouri, who entered the Territory on the day of election, took possession of the polls, excluded the legal voters, and proceeded themselves to elect members of the Legislature, without the slightest regard to the qualifications prescribed by law. The judges of election, appointed under authority of the Administration at Washington, aided and abetted in the perpetration of the outrages upon the rights of the people of Kansas, and the President of the United States removed from office the Governor whom he had himself appointed, but who refused to acknowledge the Legislature which the slaveholding invaders from Missouri had thus imposed upon the Territory.

That Legislature met on the 2d of July 1855. posed upon the Territory.

That Legislature met on the 2d of July, 1855 Its first act was to exclude those members, duly

elected, who would not consent to the enact-ment of laws for the admission of Slavery into the Territory. Having thus silenced all oppo-sition to its behests, the Legislature proceeded to the enactment of laws for the government of Kansas upon the subject of Slavery. The laws of Missouri in regard to it were at first extended over the Territory. It was then enacted, that every person who should raise an insurrection or rebellion of negroes in the Territory; every person who should entice away a slave, with intent to procure his freedom; every person who should aid or assist in so enticing away a slave within the Territory; and away a slave within the Territory. slave within the Territory; and every perso who should entice or carry away a slave from any other State or Territory of the Union, and bring him within the Territory of Kansas, with the intent to effect or procure his freedom, upon It was further enacted, that if any person should write, print, or publish, any book, paper, argument, opinion, advice, or inuendo, calculated to produce a disorderly, dangerous, or rebellious disaffection among the slaves in the Territory, or to induce them to except from their masters. might be, with less than a million inhabitants, and out-voting five of the old States, with an aggregate population of eleven millions. The corrupt and tyrannical Kings of England, when votes were needed in the House of Lords to sustain them against the people, created Peers as the emergency required. Is there in this anything in more flagrant contradiction to the most of the public of Research of the product of the produc assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in that Territory; or should right to hold slaves in that Territory; or should introduce or circulate any book, paper, pamphlet, or circular, containing any such denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in that Territory, he should be deemed guilty of felony, and be punished by IMPRISONMENT at hard labor for a term not less than TWO YEARS. It was still further enacted, by the same Legislature, that every free white male citizen of the United States, and inhabitant of the Territory, who should pay a tax of one dollar, and take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, the act organizing the Territory of Kansas, the Territorial law, and the act for the recapture of fugitive slaves, should be entitled to vote at any election in said Territory—thus making citizens of Missouri, or of any other State, legal voters in Kansas, upon their presentation at the polls, upon taking the oaths prescribed, and treasonably menaced Congress and the Union with overthrow, if its demands were not conceded. The free spitit of the country was roused with indignation by these pretensions, and for a time the whole nation roused to the tempest which they had created. Untoward events aided the wrong. The death of the President threw the whole power of the Administration of the polis, upon taking the oaths prescribed, and upon payment of one dollar—in direct violation of the spirit of the act of Congress, and in open disregard of the rights of the people of the Territory. And having made these ensements for the establishment of Slavery, the Legislature appointed Sheriffs, Judges, and other officers of the Territory, for their enforcement—thus depriving the people of all power are the control of the act of Congress, and in open disregard of the rights of the people of the Territory. officers for their execution.

That these despotic acts, even if they had been passed by a Legislature duly elected by the people of the Territory, would have been null and void, inasmuch as they are plainly in violation of the Federal Constitution, is too Proclamation, denouncing any attempt to re-sist or subvert these barbarous and voic enactments, and warning all persons engaged in such attempts, that they will be opposed, not only by the local militia, but by any available forces belonging to the regular army of the United States. Thus has the Federal Government solemnly recognised the usurpation set up in Kansas by invaders from Missouri, and pledged Kansas by invaders from Missouri, and pledged all the power of the United States to its support. American history furnishes no parallel to the cruelty and tyranny of these acts of the present Administration. The expulsion of sliens, and the penalties inflicted upon citizens for exercising freedom of speech and of the press, under the alien and sedition laws, which were overthrown by the Republican party of 1798, were lenient and mild when compared with the outrages perpetrated upon the people of Kansas, under color of law, by the usurping invaders sustained by the Federal Government.

With a full sense of the importance of the

main free; and that if blood shall be shed in the prosecution of so unlawful a purpose, those by whose agency it may be spilt will be held to a strict and stern account by the freemen of the Republic. So plain, palpable, and deliberate a violation of the Constitution, would justify the interposition of the States, whose daty it would be, by all the constitutional means in their power, to vindicate the rights and liberties of the citizen against the power of the Federal Government; and we take this occasion to express to our fellow-citizens in Kansas, against whom these unconstitutional acts are directed, our profound sympathy with them in the resistance which it is their right and their duty to make to them, and our determination to make make to them, and our determination to make that sympathy efficient by all the means which

bibited from all the territory belonging to the United States. In 1789, the first Congress of the United States passed a law reaffirming this ordinance, and re-enacting the prohibition of Slavery which it contained. In 1820, the slave holding interest secured the admission of Missouri, as a slave State, into the Union, by acceding to a similar prohibition of Slavery from the Louisiana Territory lying north of 36° 30′. In 1854, that prohibition was repealed, and the people of the Territory were left free to admit or exclude Slavery, in their own discretion. In 1856, the General Government proclaims its determination to use all the power of the United States is as complete and as ful as determination to use all the power of the United States is as complete and as ful as that possessed by any State Legislature over territory belonging to that State; and if the latter may prohibit Slavery within its territory, so may the former also.

It has been urged, we are aware, that the rules and regulations which Congress is authorized to make respecting the Territories are restricted to them regarded as property; and that this clause of the Constitution confers no governmental power over them whatever. But this cannot be so, because it is under this clause of the Constitution from which this power of governments, and provides for their ultimate admission as States. There is no other clause of the Constitution from which this power of government can be inferred; as it unquestionably exists, therefore, and wields their powers on its own behalf.

a Compact. I. The repeal of the Missouri Compror

it is urged on behalf of those by whom it was effected, involved no violation of good faith, beeffected, involved no violation of good faith, because that Compromise was merely an act of Congress, and as such repealable at pleasure. Regarded as a legal technicality, we are not disposed to contest this plea. The Compromise was undoubtedly embodied in a Congressional enactment, subject to repeal. But in this case, by the very nature of the transaction, the faith of the parties was pledged that this enactment should not be repeal. The spirit of the law, whatever its form, was the spirit of a compact. Its enactment was secured by an exchange of equivalents. The slaveholding interest procured the admission of Missouri into the Union, by consenting and voting, through its Representathe admission of Missouri into the Union, by consenting and voting, through its Representatives in Congress, that north of its southern line, in the Territory of Louisiana, Slavery should be prohibited forever. Without that consent and that vote, the admission of Missouri could not have been secured; nor would the prohibition of Slavery until 1854, or until any other date, or for any other time than that specified in the act—namely, forever—have purchased the assent of the free States to the admission of Missouri as a slave State into the Union. The word forever, therefore, was a part of the law, and of the consideration for its enactment. Such a law may be repealed; but its repeal is the rupture of a compact—the repudiation of a solemn covenant. The Missouri Compro-mise has been regarded as such a compact, from the date of its enactment, in all sections and by all the people of the country. Successive Presidents have invoked for it a respect and an obligation scarcely inferior to that of the Constitution itself; and Senator Douglas himself, as late as 1845, declared that it had been "canonized in the hearts of the American people, as a sacred thing, which no ruthless hand would ever be reckless enough to disturb." ever, therefore, the mere form of the bond may have permitted, good faith on the part of the representatives of the slaveholding interest re-quired that it should be kept inviolate.

II. Nor is this charge of bad faith, brough against the slaveholding interest, for having re-pealed the Missouri Compromise, answered or evaded by the pleas argued in its defence, that originally it was forcibly imposed by the free States upon the slave States, without their conpassage, that "it was regarded in the slave-holding States as a triumph." (2.) Still more absurd is it to say that the refusal of the North nference that the sentiment of the free Stres was justly and truly represented by his act in.
There was, indeed, no room to doubt the it
was condemned by the unanimous voice of the
free States, and that it would be regarded by
them, and by the country at large, as a very
gross and wanton violation of obligations which
had been voluntarily assumed. No matter from
what are result in the country of the large in the had been voluntarily assumed. No matter fine, what geographical quarter of the Union it ca'he, it was brought forward in the interest and on behalf of the slaveholders. This, indeed is among the worst of the effects of Slavery, and among the most signal proofs of its ascende by, that able and ambitious men should enlist in its service, and volunteer to perform offices on its behalf which the research terms most the service.

shall have power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the Territories or other property belonging to the United States." This language is very plain and very broad. It imposes no limitation upon the power of Congress to make rules and regulations respecting the Territories, except that they shall be such as are "needful;" and this, of course, it lies in the discretion of Congress to determine. It assumes that power to legislate for the Territories, which are the common property of the Union, must exist somewhere; and also that it may most justly, and most safely, be plaged in make to them, and that sympathy efficient by all the means which we may lawfully employ.

Thus, for a period of twenty-five years, has Slavery been contending, under various pretexts, but with constant success, against the tendencies of civilization and the spirit of our institutions, for the extension and perpetuation of its power. The degree in which the General Government has aided its efforts may be traced in the successive steps it has taken. In 1787, all the States in the Confederacy united in ordaining that Slavery should be forever prohibited from all the territory belonging to the United States. In 1789, the first Congress of the United States passed a law reaffirming this the Congress, therefore, deem it expedient to make a rule and regulation which shall prohibit Slavery from any Territory, we find

whatever source it may be derived, the authority to govern necessarily implies the right to decide what policy and what laws will best promote the welfare of those on whose behalf that authority is exercised. If Congress, therefore, believes that the well-being of the Territories and of the country at large will be promoted by excluding Slavery from them, it has, beyond

tion imposed upon power assumed to exist. The language of the clause takes it for granted that Congress had power to prohibit the migration and the importation of slaves—a power doubtless conferred by the authority "to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States;" for, whether slaves are to the several States; "for, whether staves are to be regarded as persons or as property, commerce of necessity relates to both. This clause of the Constitution, therefore, imposes upon the authority of Congress to prohibit the migration or importation of slaves a specific and a limited restriction—namely, that this power should not restriction—namely, that the power should not be exercised over any of the States then existing, prior to the year 1808. Over any State not then existing, and, by still stronger implication, over any Territories of the United States, the exercise of its authority was unrestricted; and it might prohibit the migration or importation. it might prohibit the migration or importation of slaves into them, at any time, in its own dis-

Nor do any considerations connected with alleged rights of property in slaves contravene the existence or the exercise of this authority. The Constitution does not recognise slaves as The Constitution does not recognise slaves as property, in any instance, or to any extent. In the-clause already cited, they are called "persons." In the clause respecting their escape into other States, they are to be returned, not as property, but as "persons held to service or labor." And in the apportionment of representation and of direct taxes, it is provided by the Constitution that to the whole number of free per-sons are to be added three-fifths of all other "persons." In all its provisions which have ference to slaves, they are described and rereference to slaves, they are described and regarded as persons. The idea of their being property is carefully and intentionally excluded. If they are property at all, therefore, it is not by virtue of the Constitution, but of local laws, and only within their jurisdiction. The local laws of any State are excluded from the Territories of the United States, by the ne cessity of the case as well as by the exclusive sovereignty conferred upon Congress.

The Plea of Popular Sovereignty.

Failing thus to establish the right of slaveholder to carry his slaves as property, by virtue of the Constitution, into tarritory belong-ing to the United States, the slaveholding inevaded by the pleas argued in its defence, that originally it was forcibly imposed by the free States upon the slave States, without their consent; that it was subsequently violated by the free States, in their refusal to extend its provisions over New Mexico and Utah; or that its repeal, having been offered by the free States themselves, could not be resisted or refused by the representatives of Slavery. (1.) Even if it were true that the prohibition of Slavery north of 36° 30′ was originally enacted by the free States, against the votes of the South, the fact that the admission of Missouri was accepted as the slaveholding interest a party to the transaction, assenting to its terms, and bound by its obligations. But the fact is not so. The act of March 6, 1820, which admitted Missouri, and prohibited Slavery in the Louisiana Territory March 6, 1820, which admitted Missouri, and prohibited Slavery in the Louisiana Territory north of 36° 30′, received in the Senate the votes of fourteen members from slaveholding States, while only eight were cast against it; and in the House of Representatives, thirty-cight members from the slave States voted for it, and thirty seven against it. A majority of the two states are sovereign; but votes from slaveholding States, in each branch of Congress, were thus given for the bill; and to the sovereignty of the nation. Two soverso far were the representatives of Slavery from regarding it as having been forced upon them, that Charles Pinckney, one of their greatest of necessity exclude the other. But the Conholding States as a triumph." (2.) Still more absurd is it to say that the refusal of the North to extend the provisions of the Compromise over other regions, was a violation of its terms, or in any way released the parties to it from their obligation to abide by its requirements.

(3.) It is true that the ostensible author of the proposition to repeal it was a Senator from a free State; but that fact does not authorize we inference that the sentiment of the free States. makes Congress sovereign over the Territories. eignty over the Territories be in their inhabit-ants, instead of the United States, they would cease to be Territories of the United States the moment we permit them to be inhabited." So long as they remain Territories, they are the possession and under the exclusive dominion of the United States; and it is for the General Government to make such laws for them as their welfare, and that of the nation, may re

we deny that Congress may abdicate a portion of the present of the would have been easy to remove, by antire and the outset in the present of the shaveholders. This, indeed, is diamong the worst of the effects of Slavery, and a common the worst of the effects of Slavery, that able and ambitious men should ealily in the Constitution. Such an abdication is an addition of the present of the prese tion of its authority, and commit to the inhabit-

exercised in 1848, when Slavery was prohibited from the Territory of Oregon.

Nor is it in the least degree impatred by the argument that these Territories, when they become States, and are admitted into the Union, can establish or prohibit Slavery, in their discretion. Their rights as States do not begin until their obligations as Territories end. The Constitution knows nothing of "inchoate States." Congress has power to make "all needfol miss. Congress has power to make "all needful rules and regulations" for them as Territories, until they are admitted into the Union as members of the common Confederacy.

In all these successive acts, in the admission of Missouri and of Arkansas, in the annexation of Texas and the provision for admitting four new States from her territory, in the war with Mexico and the conquest of her provinces, in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and in the cruel war now waged against the people of Kansas for the extension of Slavery into that Territory, we trace the footsteps of a powerful interest, aiming at absolute political power, and striding onward to a complete ascendency over the General Government. It finds powerful allies, and an open field in the political arena, for the prosecution of its purposes. Always move country to which they belong, tasy impose on the constitution of pose. If Cougress, therefore, deem it expedition to make a rule and regulation which shall provide the constitution which removes such a prohibit Slavery from any Territory; which is the constitution which removes such a prohibit slavery from the sphere of its authority. The power of Congress over the Territories of a the United States is as complete and as full as that possessed by any State Legislature over the United States is as complete and as full as that possessed by any State Legislature over the General Government. It finds powerful at the latter may prohibit States; and if the state is an complete and as full as that possessed by any State Legislature over the General Government. It finds powerful the latter may prohibit States; and if the latter may prohibit States; and if the latter may prohibit States; and if the state is an output of the state is an output o

tion to the subject of Slavery—upon the effect it will have upon the interest of the slavehold ing class.

The people of the free States have cherished the hope that the efforts made to extend Slavery, which have fallen under their notice, were

than ambition. They have trusted that the sa-gacious statesmen of the slaveholding States would gradually perceive and acknowledge the inconvenience and danger of Slavery, and would take such measures as they might deem wise and safe, for its ultimate removal. They have feared the effect of agitation upon this subject, relied upon the good faith and honor of the slaveholding States, and believed that time, the natural growth of population, and the recog-nised laws of political and social economy, would gradually and peacefully work out the extinction of a system so repugnant to justice and the national character and welfare. It has seemed to them incredible, that in this late age when Christianity has for near two thousand years been filling the world with its light, and when almost every nation on earth but our own has abolished chattel slavery, the effort should be made, or the wish cherished, by any portion of our people, to make the interest of Slavery predominant, and to convert this Republic, the only Government which professes to be founded upon human rights, into the mightiest slave empire the world has ever seen. But it is impossible to deceive ourselves longer. The events of the past two years have dis-closed the designs of the slave power, and the desperate means it is prepared to use for their accomplishment. We cannot shut our eyes longer to the fact that the slaveholding interest is determined to counteract the tendencies of time and of civilization, by its own energy, by its bold appropriation of all the powers and agencies of the Government, and by the viola-tion, if need be, of the most sacred compacts and compromises. It is resolved that Slavery shall be under the protection of the national flag—that it shall no longer be the creature of local law, but that it shall stand clothed with all the sanctions, and sustained by all the power of this great Republic. It is determined that the President shall do its bidding, and that Congress shall legislate according to its de crees. It is resolved upon the dethronemen of the principles of Republicanism, and the establishment, in their stead, of an OLIGARCHY bound together by a common interest in the ownership of slaves.

Nor have we any reason to believe that Slavery will be content with this absolute supremacy over the Federal Government, which is has already so well-nigh achieved. On the contrary, the dark shadow of its sceptre falls upon the sovereignty of the several States, and menaces them with dire disaster. South Caroina, abandoning her once-cherished doctrine of State Rights, asserts the Federal supremacy over laws made by States, exclusively for the protection of their citizens. The State of Virginia is contesting, in courts of law, the right of the State of New York to forbid the existence of Slavery within her limits. A Federal Court in Pennsylvania has denied the right of that State to decree freedom to slaves brought by their masters within her borders, and has proclaimed that Slavery exists by the law of nations. The division of California, and the organization of a slave State within her limits. have been proposed. A Senator on the floor of Congress has urged that the Government of the United States should no longer restrain, by its naval power, the African slave trade, and the United States should no longer restrain, by its naval power, the African slave trade, and the demand for its restoration is openly made the demand for its restoration is openly made.

"The proliure of the lonthsome den of the unclean beas in the Salt Lake Valley is drawn by a lady's modest believely pepcil."—Burlington Baily Free Press.

"The proliure of the lonthsome den of the unclean beas in the Salt Lake Valley is drawn by a lady's modest believely pepcil."—Burlington Baily Free Press. When these great objects shall have been ac

General Government, shall have become subject to the law of Slavery, and when three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders shall hold des-potic rule over the millions of this Republic, Slavery cannot fail, from the necessity of its na-Slavery cannot fail, from the necessity of its nature, to attempt outrages which will awaken storms that will sweep it in carnage from the face of the earth. The longer tyranny is practiced unresisted, the fiercer and the more dreadful is the resistance which in the end it provokes. History is full of instances to prove that nothing is so dangerous as a wrong long unredressed—that evils, which at the outset unredressed—that evils, which at the outset it would have been easy to remove, by suffer-ance become fatal to those through whose in-difference and toleration they have increased. The tendency of the measures adopted by the slaveholding interest to secure its own exten-sion, through the action of the Federal Govern-

Slavery shall continue to be the paramount and controlling influence in the Federal Administration, or whether other rights and other interests shall resume the degree of consideration to which they are entitled. The issue is upon us by no act of ours, and it cannot be evaded. Under a profound conviction of impending dangers, the grounds whereof we have now set forth, we call upon you to deliver the Constitution and the Union from the subjugation which threatens both. Holding, with the late Mr. Calhoun, that "the obligation to repel aggression is not much less solemn than that of abstaining from making aggression, and that the party which submits to it, when it can be resisted, is not much less suitly and responsible for consequences than that which makes it," we invoke a surrender of all party prejudless and all personal centugs, and a cordial and earnest union for the vindication of rights and liberties which we cannot surrender without degradation and shame. We summon you to send delegates, in numbers three times as large as your representation in Congress, to meet in Convention at Philadeiphia, on the 17th day of June next, to nominate candidates for meet in Convention at Philadelphia, on the 17th day of June next, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States. Let them come prepared to surrender all personal preferences, and all sectional or local views—resolved only to make such nominations and to take such action as shall advance the principles we hold and the purposes we seek to promote. Disclaiming any intention to interfere with Slavery in the States where it exists, or to invalidate those portions of the Constitution by which it is removed from the national control, let us prevent the General Government from its ascndency, bring back its administration to the principles and the practice of its wise and illustrious founders, and thus vindicate the Constitution and the Union, and secure the blessings of LIBERTY to ourselves and our posterity.

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